

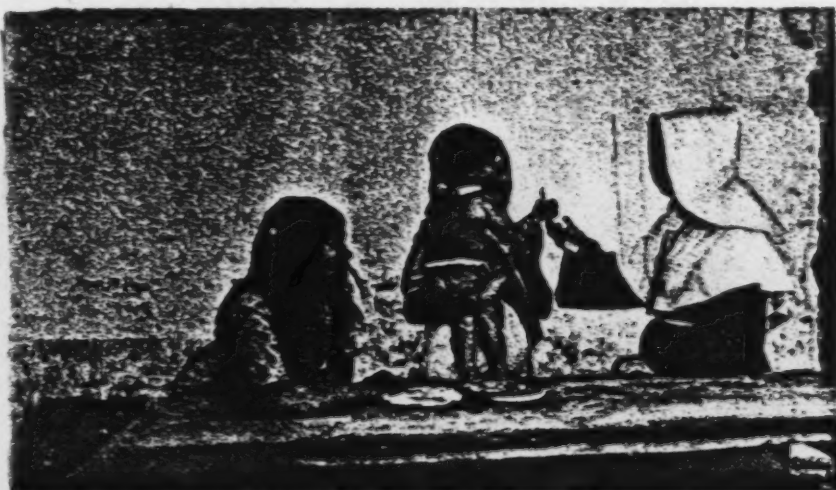
2:Armellada--22a M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemón SS16



A Gran Sabana family, whose children have been educated at the Mission.

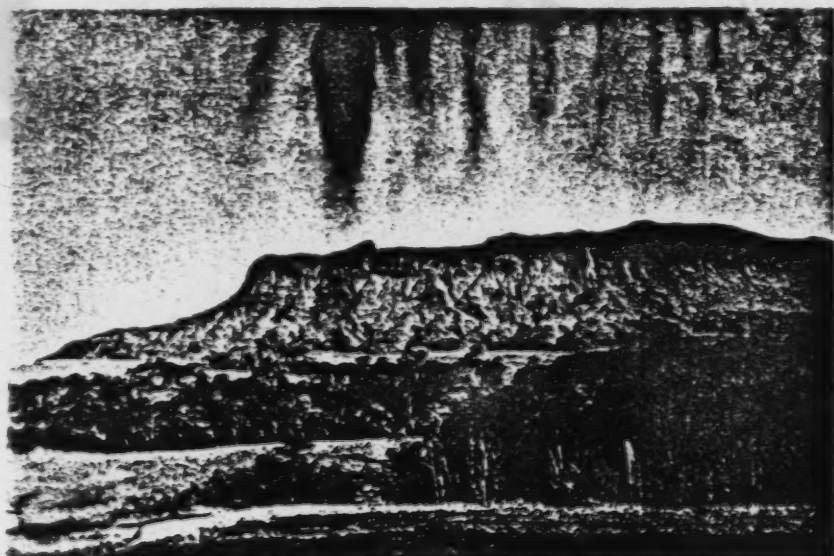
2:Armellada--74b M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon SS16

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Native mothers with their children receiving gifts from a missionary sister.

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This great stone mass and these woods tell us of the secrets enclosed in the Gran Sabana.

2:Armellada--74c M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemón SS16

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A cute little Indian child in a guayare.

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Central mountain ridges of the Gran Sabana, covered with a beautiful moriche palm grove.

Hunting

182 cont. /

- 224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
 226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
 278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
 415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
 large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
 342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
 the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
 291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
 301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
 513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
 482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
 ● 854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
 352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
 412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
 415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
 501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
 283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
 286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
 534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
 241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, ayama
 /gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
 252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
 262 and mafioco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
 273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
 177 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
 439 been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
 [41] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
 [412] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
 (301) they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
 (291) cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
 287 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
 314 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
 411 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone
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167. *Sandals (native, of palm bark and fiber) — purai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) palai (= parai).
168. Trade cloth — saraza (from Spanish "zaraza").
European mens' clothes —
169. Hat — sombertró
170. Shirt — kamisá
171. Trousers — pantalón
172. Slippers — alpargata
- } These are the Spanish words given a Kamarakoto pronunciation.
(A woman's dress of European type is simply called pon, which also means clothing in general)
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173. *Legbands (women) — (i)baipu (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), upper band waipu, lower band urakume.
174. *Armbands (women) — (i)abukamui (both bands). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) upper band (y)a:pügama', lower band (y)endapögema'.
- [501]
175. *Earrings — (i)panadaino'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) panada. (pana = "ear").
- [292]
- [254]
176. Head-dress (women, for dancing) — inimo-katsa. (Literally "woven fine thread").
- [293]
177. *Carrying bands (cotton, worn by women for carrying babies) — bene'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wene'.
178. *Pouch (crocheted from cotton string, purse-like, generally carried by men) — pakara'. Makuchi (Williams) pa-ka-ra, defined as a sort of basket called a "pegall" or "pack-all" in British Guiana. The Kamarakotos never call a basket pakara (or never make a pakara of basketry). Schomburgk suggests that the Indian word pegala = pakara may have been derived from the English "pack-all." This is certainly a reversal of the process — "pack-all" comes from "pakara." -51

386 e. Pigments. These pigments are used as face and body paint and also to color baskets (black only), textiles (red), etc. Beeswax and some of the gums and resins used on various objects also have the effect of coloring them but are not applied solely for this purpose and so cannot be considered true pigments.

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179. Black — ainatoron. This is soot scraped from earthenware pots. (The aina — may possibly be a combining form of a. ina, "put," and if so the anomalous a. i has here merged into a diphthong.)

Blue-black —

- *192
180. *karöi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) roku, ruku, luku. Sapara, Purokoto, and Wayumara (Koch-Grünberg) luku.

51 [See footnote on p. 312, category 116 — Ana/yvri]

352 cotton twine and the mode of manufacture will be described below, under "Textiles."

- 353 Very small babies are sometimes placed in a cradle, pakarri, which consists of a ring of wood (or a liana) suspended from a beam in the house by four cords. A band of cloth is fastened across the frame to hold the baby and above this a transverse stick is fastened to keep its weight from deforming the ring. Similar rings, without the cloth or transverse stick, are sometimes used to hang up pots and similar objects and these are also called pakarri.

Basket-ware.

- 285 The various baskets and the weaves used in them are described in more detail below under "Textiles." Here those that form part of the necessary or normal household equipment are listed and their functions given: $\frac{1}{\Delta}$
- tangōi — the casave press, described above. Fig. 64.
 - pangai — casave sieve. Fig. 56 A.
 - oapa — a large circular, closely woven shallow tray used for drying and sunning various things (cotton, vegetables, etc.), for serving casave, and the like. Fig. 56 B.
 - matutu — a square tray, shallow but with a vertical rim, raised from the ground by four short legs. Uses similar to those of the oapa. Figs. 57, 58.
 - o. olori — a single, flat, square mat, used to fan the fire and as a plate. Fig. 56 C.
 - waricha) these, more exactly distinguished under "Textiles," are
 - warakapi) small carrying and storage baskets, carried in the hand.
 - wapa) Figs. 59, 60.
 - soko)
 - ama:tu — relatively deep rectangular baskets with covers and two layers of weaving (often with leaves between). They are closely woven, sometimes waterproof, and are used for the storage of clothing and of all sorts of personal treasures, necklaces, earrings, and so on. Fig. 62.
- [482] akai) These are variations of the woman's back-carrying basket or
- koatal) frame, designated according to the weave used. Figs. 65, 66.
- wakawa — A rougher and relatively uncommon type of heavy carrying basket. Fig. 55.
- H/2 Eno-saramba — a small, deep basket with very open weave, sometimes used for carrying, like the waricha, etc., but particularly as a bird cage. The top is tied together in a straight line and a perch is thrust through the mesh from one side to the other.

$\frac{1}{\Delta}$ [For figures referred to in text, see pp. 185b, 190a-190c, 193a, and 197b-197c, category 116 - Analysis]

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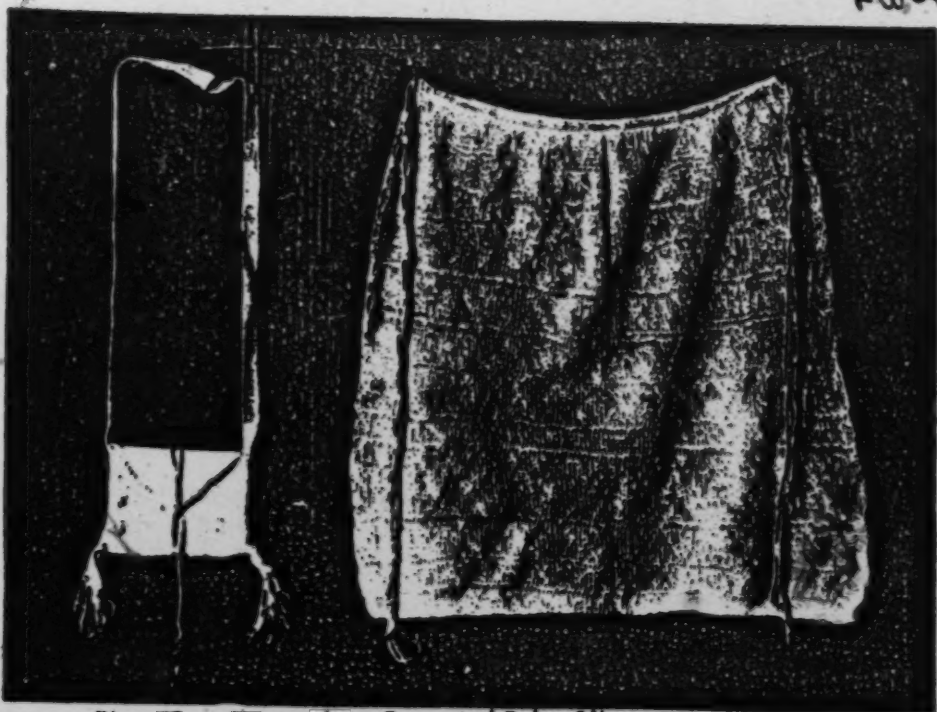


Fig. 43 — Kamarakoto Purse and Baby-Sling.
A, cotton purse or pouch, pakara. B, cotton baby-sling.

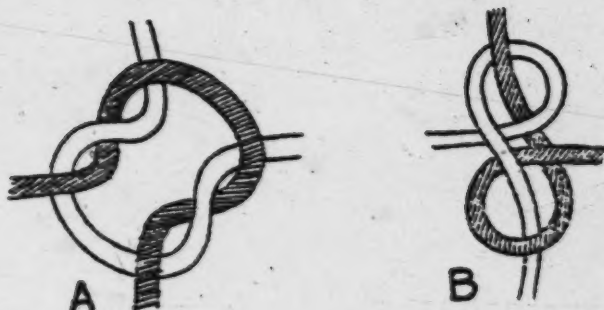
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Fig. 45 — Kamarakoto Netting Knots.

A, B, the two usual types of knots used in making nets like those of Fig. 18. One thread is shaded for clarity. They are, of course, identical in character in the actual fabric and the knot is pulled tight.

286 alternating the patterns a varied design can be produced, often with very artistic effect. A favorite pattern is woven mainly in one-over-two, with numerous narrow transverse bands of two-over-two, often winding up at the lock or crostle with wider sections of tightly woven two-over-two.

● [854] The finished baby sling (Fig. 43B) is sometimes left white (a color it [822] does not retain) and sometimes dyed pink or red. The Taurepānes obtain [439] brightly colored thread by unraveling trade hammocks from Brazil and by tying some of these into their own white thread, they make baby slings with vari-colored diagonal bands, but the Kamarakotos do not do this and it is probably another neomorph arising from the adaptation of a foreign material to a native technique.

[17] The fourth thread textile technique may be called one-needle crocheting, because it is composed of interlocking loops of thread made with the aid of a single hooked needle.¹⁴⁴ This art, no less peculiar than loom-plaiting, is also widespread, although apparently less so, and aside from the Arekunas is known among the Makuchis, Akawais, "Caribs" (probably Kalifnas), and perhaps a few other tribes. Articles as made by the Kamarakotos are more even and tight in mesh and more skillfully designed and finished than any I have seen, or seen illustrated, made by other Indians and it may be claimed that the Kamarakotos have brought this art to its highest development.

286 The needle used may be and doubtless formerly always was a wooden 4/3 pin with a hook carved at the end. Now a large wire nail with the tip bent 177 and filed to make a smooth hook is preferred and most of the women have such 144 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analysis]

589 is a definite group of sexually mature but young and (as a group) not quite full-
 585 grown men who are not married, a definite young bachelor class in the tribe.
 162

Division of Labor

511 Kamarakotos have a very definite standard of living which is almost uni-
 461 versally attained. They work hard to maintain a proper household, with a good dwelling, an adequate farm-patch, hammocks, baskets, and such other household objects as they require, personal ornaments, and the other appurtenances of their way of life. When these things are, for the moment, achieved, the
 [556] Indians rest and play. Hoarding of wealth, provision for the future, or any accumulation of things not for current use is not attempted. Only in this sense
 [185] can they be considered at all lazy, and given their own standards and their abundant energy when they have, by these standards, any reason to work, it is entirely unjust to apply the word "lazy" to them at all.

462 Nor is it true of them, whatever can be said of other Indians, that an unfair amount of labor is assigned to the women. Man's work and woman's work are, as a rule, sharply defined. Men and women do different things and often their work is done at different times, but they do roughly equivalent amounts of work. A man may be seen idly watching a woman work, but not more often than a woman idly watching a working man. It is also noteworthy that there are many operations in which men and women work together, seldom doing the same task but performing integrated parts of a common task. And while in general a man will not do a woman's work, he will do so if circumstances warrant. For instance, nothing is more typically woman's work than carrying a
 254 baby, but I have seen a man doing this, leaving the woman unburdened, on a
 264 long trek when his wife became tired.

The most important characters of the division of labor are:

Men

The felling of trees, clearing of ground, and the actual construction of all buildings.

Clearing and planting of coucos.

All hunting and fishing except, in part, fish-poisoning.

Women

Most of the hauling and carrying incidental to building, but the men may help some.

Cultivation and harvesting of crops and carrying them to the house.

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In fish-poisoning, the actual preparation and the beating of the poison into the water.

In fish-poisoning, the gathering of the fish, but the men often help when their own task is done.

Manufacture of twisted thread,
(curagua, moriche, etc.)

All food preparation.

Manufacture of spun thread
(cotton).

Manufacture of sandals.

Manufacture of all cotton
textiles, baby slings, pakara,
hammocks, etc., also all sewing
of Europeanized garments.

Manufacture (and use) of all
weapons, fish nets, etc.

All basketwork.

All beadwork.

Manufacture and use of all
musical instruments (except simple
jingle-rattle ornaments).

Such woodworking as is done
(benches, canoes, etc.).

Manufacture of pottery.

● [859] Some help with care of
children.

Almost all of the care of
children (which is slight except
for babies carried by the women
in a sling).

Helping with the heavy
carrying, as on journeys.

Incidental fetching and
carrying, as of firewood and water.

Much, often the lion's share,
of heavier carrying, as on journeys.

Even to the most prejudiced European eyes, this division can hardly be called manifestly unequal, and it even has the familiar European basis: in general the man makes, defends, and supplies the home, while the woman maintains it. The only very peculiar feature, to non-Indian eyes, is that the

[text continues on p. 229]

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Fig. 74 — Kamarakoto Women Buying Cloth at Expedition Headquarters.

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152 parents and children, and friends there are evident expressions of pleasure and
 53 consideration, exchanges of gifts, and efforts to please. Children play together
 857 in greatest amity (Figs. 81, 82) and it is common to see boy chums who are al-
 most always together and often stand arm in arm.

851 Children in general lead unusually happy and secure lives. Although not
 855 given tasks beyond their strength, they are not treated as something apart from
 adult life but are integral members of society like everyone else and share in
 all activities on an equal basis. They are well treated and deferred to as much
 861 as one adult would defer to another. They seldom need disciplining, because
 they act much like their elders beyond a greater playfulness, which is quite
 innocent, and no adult activities are categorically forbidden them. We never
 saw a child disciplined and saw few cases of their needing it, in our opinion.

• 854 The small babies cry infrequently because they usually get what they want with-
 out crying. Several times when a baby cried for something that an older child
 had, the older child gave it, even if a little reluctantly.

Until they can walk, children almost never leave their mothers. They
 are carried everywhere in the baby-sling, to such an extent that a sling with a
 853 baby in it seems part of an adult woman's costume (Fig. 83).² The baby never
 feels insecure, because he is always with his mother, and he is never hungry,
 because her breast is always there for him to help himself. He is an honored and
 855 protected member of society from his first breath. There can be little doubt
 854 that much of the placidity and amiability of the people has its origin in the
 baby-sling. Most civilized mothers could learn a great deal about the psycholog-
 ical, if not the physical, care of infants from the Kamarakotos. Their system
 does not, as some theorists would suppose, produce what we would call "spoiled"
 children, but produces happy and reasonable ones.

847 Some Carib tribes have practiced extensive infanticide and perhaps some
 843 still do. Of course the Kamarakotos deny this in their case, and it is so con-
 842 trary to their characters that they are doubtless truthful in this denial. They
 841 seem greatly to desire children. Orphans are adopted, usually but not always
 839 by a paternal uncle, as a matter of course and are in every respect treated like
 their own children by the foster parents. No woman said or seemed to feel that
 she had too many, or even enough, children.

Modesty.

834 The Kamarakotos are extremely modest, but only on one point. Adults
 834 do not expose the pubic region, even before members of the same sex. Men
 834 and women show no particular reticence in performing physiological functions
 in plain sight of persons of either sex, but manage to do so in such a way that
 834 the pubic region is not in view. Very small boys are not embarrassed at being
 quite naked, but as soon as the loincloth is put on they begin to show modesty.

¹ [see pp. 265a and 265b, category 116 - Analyst]

² [see p. 280a, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 266]

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● P54



Fig. 83 — Kamarakoto Mother and Child.

[163] Mode of carrying in the ever-present baby-sling. The woman (No. 11 of our detailed notes) is the youngest wife of the cacique and has three other living children. Her European earrings, the only ones seen in the tribe, are evidence of her favored position.



Fig. 88 — Kamarakoto Family.
No. 42, to'-esa' of Amidan, and his wife, No. 44, and the youngest of his
four living children (the second by this wife).

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Fig. 96 — Taurepán Family.

No. 17 (Taurepán) and his wife No. 18 (T.) with two of their three living and three dead children. They live on the headwaters of the Kukenán near Roroimá. Note wooden pin in woman's lower lip.

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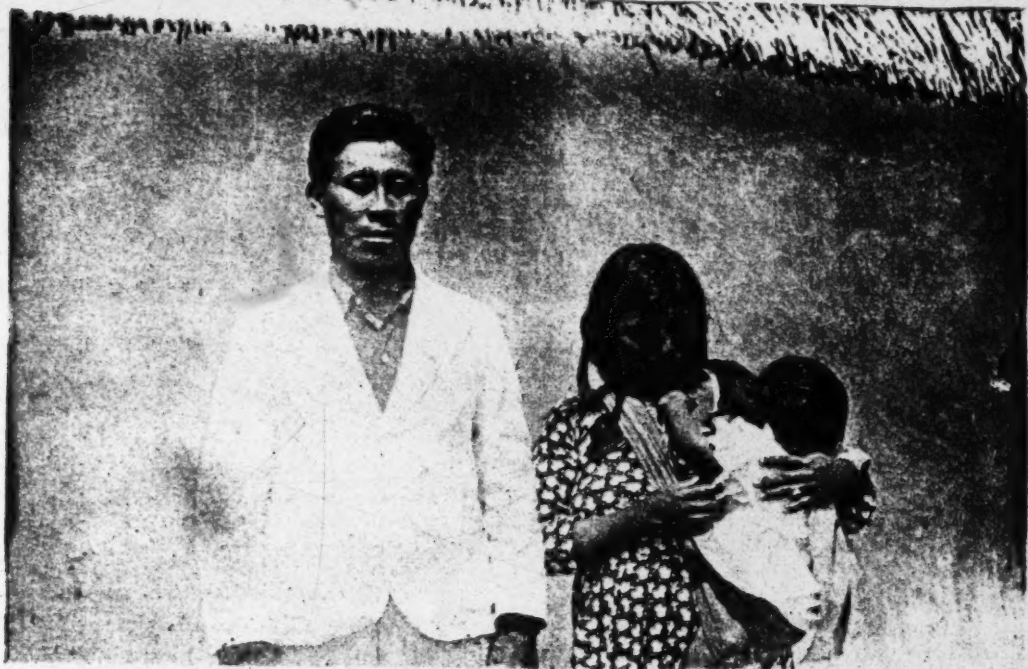


Fig. 98 — Taurepán Family.

No. 2, his wife, No. 4, and their only child. They live on the Kukenán near Santa Elena.

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